

Message Text

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ARA-06 ACDA-07 SCCT-01 BIB-01 CU-02 IO-13 EA-07 SAM-01

ERDA-05 OES-06 (ISO) W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2605

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USBERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY USNATO

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 5916

E O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, GE

SUBJ: 9TH SED CONGRESS: POLITICAL THEMES

REF: BERLIN 5914

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SUMMARY: FIRST SECRETARY HONECKER'S REPORT TO THE 9TH SED PARTY

CONGRESS ON MAY 18 IS MAINLY A RECITATION OF FAMILIAR THEMES. HONECKER NOTES THAT THE SUDDEN DEVELOPMENT OF A CRITICAL SITUATION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS COULD NOT BE RULED OUT; FRG/GDR RELATIONS HAVE LITTLE CHANCE TO PROGRESS UNLESS "REVANCHIST" CIRCLES IN THE FRG GIVE UP THE IDEA OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND COME TO ACCEPT THE GDR AS AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN AND SOCIALIST STATE; AND THAT LATIN AMERICAN IS UNDERGOING A PERIOD OF CHANGE IN THE "BACKYARD OF US IMPERIALISM". IN THIS CONNECTION HE PLEDGES ACTIVE GDR SUPPORT OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN ALL OF LATIN AMERICA. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SOVIET UNION

HONECKER PAYS ALLEGIANCE TO THE "GENERALLY APPLICABLE" EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU AND BEGINS HIS FOREIGN POLICY REMARKS BY ASSERTING TOTAL AGREEMENT WITH THE POLICIES OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS. HE PROCLAIMS THAT COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION WOULD REMAIN THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF GDR FOREIGN POLICY. FOR HONECKER, THE GDR'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS OF A "FULLY NEW TYPE," ONE THAT REACHED A "NEW, HIGHER STATE" IN THE SOVIET/GDR TREATY OF OCTOBER, 1975, CHARACTERIZED BY "IDENTICAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS" AND AN INCREASED DRAWING TOGETHER OF THE SOCIALIST NATIONS IN THE TWO STATES.

2. DETENTE

IN LINE WITH SOVIET POLICY, HONECKER EMPHASIZES GDR SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND CALLS DETENTE THE PRINCIPAL TREND IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. HE SUPPORTS PROGRESS IN US/SOVIET RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, AND FOLLOWS THE SOVIET LINE IN URGING THAT POLITICAL DETENTE BE CONSOLIDATED THROUGH MILITARY DETENTE. HOWEVER, HE REPEATS THE USUAL GDR CAVEATS: DETENTE CAN CAN MOVE FORWARD ONLY IF THE CSCE CODEX OF TEN PRINCIPLES IS OBSERVED, INCLUDING THE INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND MUTUAL RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY. IN REFERRING TO THE CONTINUED ACTIVITIES OF ANTI-DETENTE FORCES IN THE WEST, HONECKER DISPENSES WITH THE STANDARD GDR PHRASE DESCRIBING THE POTENTIAL DANGERS TO DETENTE. INSTEAD OF REFERRING TO "SUDDEN CHANGES IN CONFIDENTIAL

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COURSE" (JAEHE WENDUNGEN) WHICH COULD ARISE, AS HE DID A FEW MONTHS AGO, HE WARNS THAT "REVERSES" (ROECKSCHLAEGE) AND THE "SUDDEN DEVELOPMENT OF A CRITICAL SITUATION" (PLOETZLICHE ZUSPTIZUNG) IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COULD TAKE PLACE AT ANY TIME. THESE NEW PHRASES APPEAR STRONGER THAN THE PHRASE "SUDDEN CHANGES OF COURSE" PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED AND COULD IMPLY A HIGHER DEGREE OF RESPONSE TO INTERNATIONAL EVENTS CONSIDERED INIMICAL TO GDR INTERESTS

THAN THE PREVIOUS PHRASE.

3. RELATIONS WITH THE FRG

HONECKER COMES OUT CLEARLY FOR A CONTINUED NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE FRG. HE WARNS, HOWEVER, THAT "REVANCHIST" CIRCLES IN THE FRG HAVE INCREASED THEIR ACTIVITIES AND HAVE KEPT THE FRG AND THE GDR FROM EXPLOITING THE POSSIBILITIES THAT EXIST FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF "GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS." IN DEALING WITH INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS, HONECKER GIVES ONE OF THE CLEAREST EXPOSITIONS TO DATE OF THE GDR'S POLICY OF SEPARATION (ABGRENZUNG) FROM THE FRG. HE CALLS FIRST FOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCES OF ALL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED THUS FAR, INCLUDING THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT (QA) AND THE BASIC TREATY BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR. THESE TREATIES REPRESENT FOR HONECKER THE POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE "SOCIAL SEPARATION" OF THE GDR FROM THE FRG. THE FRG WOULD THUS HAVE TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE GDR WAS NOW INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED AS AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN GERMAN STATE" IF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO STATES WERE TO PROGRESS. HONECKER ACCUSES "REVANCHIST FORCES" IN THE FRG OF "MIXING IN GDR INTERNAL AFFAIRS" THROUGH "IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSION" THEREBY UPSETTING DETENTE AND CONTRAVENTING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. HONECKER DOESN'T MINCE WORDS IN HIS ENSUING ATTACK ON THOSE WHO HOLD THAT "THE GERMAN QUESTION" IS STILL OPEN. "THIS QUESTION IS NO LONGER OPEN", HE ASSERTS. "HISTORY HAS LONG SINCE PASSED JUDGMENT" WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "SOCIALIST GERMAN NATION" IN THE GDR AND THE GDR'S INTEGRATION IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. THUS, HONECKER CONCLUDES, THE GDR IS IN FAVOR OF FURTHER NORMALIZING ITS TIES WITH THE FRG, BUT ONLY IF BOTH GERMAN STATES KEEP

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"REALITIES" IN MIND AND ACT ON THE BASIS OF "REASON."

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ACTION EUR-12

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

ARA-06 ACDA-07 SCCT-01 BIB-01 CU-02 IO-13 EA-07 SAM-01

ERDA-05 OES-06 (ISO) W

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P R 191900Z MAY 76

FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2606

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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4. WEST BERLIN

HONECKER TAKES NOTE OF THE GDR'S OFT-EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO "DEVELOP AND FURTHER NORMALIZE" ITS RELATIONS WITH WEST BERLIN. THIS STATEMENT ECHOES WORDING IN ARTICLE 7 OF THE SOVIET/GDR TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH BY IMPLICATION PUT THE GDR ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE FRG IN ITS RELATIONS
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WITH WEST BERLIN. HONECKER CALLS FOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE QA AND WARNS THAT IN THE PAST NOT JUST THE POPULATION IN WEST BERLIN, BUT DETENTE IN EUROPE HAD BEEN NEGATIVELY AFFECTED BY THOSE WHO SOUGHT TO CAUSE PROBLEMS WITH WEST BERLIN. AT ANOTHER POINT, HONECKER MENTIONS THAT THE GDR HAD FOLLOWED A "CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY DESIGNED TO HELP BRING ABOUT THE QA ON WEST BERLIN," THEREBY BY IMPLICATION INTERPOSING THE GDR

AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE PROCESS THAT LED TO
THE SIGNING OF THE QA.

5. SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

HONECKER DEVOTES LARGE SECTIONS OF HIS REPORT TO SUPPORT
FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE THIRD WORLD, BUT ONLY
AFTER HE HAS GONE ON THE RECORD IN SUPPORT OF DETENTE
IN EUROPE. HE AVERS THAT THE GDR FAVORS "POLITICAL"
SOLUTIONS TO ALL CONFLICTS, BUT MAINTAINS
THAT IT IS THE "HOLY RIGHT" OF ALL PEOPLES TO TAKE UP
ARMS AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION. HE
THEN SETS THE STRENGTHENING AND EXTENSION OF THE
"ANTI-IMPERIALIST" ALLIANCE AS A GOAL FOR GDR FOREIGN
POLICY. HONECKER OUTLINES GDR SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS IN ASIA AND AFRICA, BUT GIVES SPECIAL AND
LENGTHY ATTENTION TO LATIN AMERICA, ESPECIALLY HIGH-
LIGHTING CUBA AS A "SHINING EXAMPLE". THIS REINFORCES
OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE GDR MAY HAVE PARTICULAR RESPON-
SIBILITIES FOR LATIN AMERICA WITHIN SOVIET BLOC FOREIGN
POLICY. (DR. GEYER OF THE GDR FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS
REMARKED TO US THAT HONECKER'S EMPHASIS ON LATIN AMERICA IS
ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF HIS SPEECH,
DESCRIBING THE GDR'S INTENTION AS ONE OF "REACHING OUT"
TO "FRIENDS" IN THE HEMISPHERE, ESPECIALLY, OF COURSE
TO CHILE.)

6. CHINA

ALTHOUGH HONECKER REFRAINS FROM TREATING CHINA IN THE
MAIN FOREIGN POLICY SECTION OF HIS REPORT, HE ATTACKS
MAOISM IN A SECTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENT. HE ACCUSES THE MAOISTS OF HAVING ENTERED INTO
A NEW STAGE IN THEIR "ANTI-LENINIST COURSE" AND OF
TURNING AWAY FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM IN THEIR
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DOMESTIC POLICIES. ALTHOUGH HE COMES DOWN HARD ON THE
CHINESE FOR ALLYING WITH "THE MOST REACTIONARY WING
OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM" AND OF ATTEMPTING TO FORM A
"BROAD ANTI-SOCIALIST, ANTI-SOVIET FRONT", HONECKER
VOICES THE GDR'S DESIRE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS ONCE
CHINA RETURNS TO A POLICY BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM.

7. PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP
OF THE PROLETARIAT

HONECKER'S REPORT IS SPRINKLED WITH STRONG STATEMENTS
IN SUPPORT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. AT THE
BEGINNING HONECKER MENTIONS THAT "GENERAL APPLICABILITY" OF
THE SOVIET EXAMPLE AND AT ONE POINT STATES: "FIRM
SOLIDARITY WITH THE PARTY AND THE LAND OF LENIN IS A
FUNDAMENTAL ASPECT OF ONE'S WORKING CLASS OUTLOOK; IT

IS THE DECIDING CRITERION FOR EVERY REVOLUTIONARY AND INTERNATIONALIST." HONECKER ALSO STRONGLY DEFENDS THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS THE "HIGHEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY" AND STATES THAT "HISTORY TO DATE KNOWS NO EXAMPLE OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY HAVING BEEN ERECTED WITHOUT IT." IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW OTHER PARTIES REPRESENTED AT THE CONGRESS WILL REACT TO THE SED POSITION ON THESE TWO ISSUES WHICH HAVE PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN PREPARATIONS FOR A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE.

8. THE GDR INTERNATIONAL ROLE

HONECKER CLAIMS A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION BY THE GDR TO THE LESSENING OF TENSIONS AND TOWARD COOPERATION WITH CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES IN PURSUANCE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. HE EMPHASIZES THAT THE "DIPLOMATIC BLOCKADE" BY WESTERN COUNTRIES AGAINST THE GDR HAS BEEN DECISIVELY BROKEN WITH THE RECOGNITION OF THE GDR BY 121 COUNTRIES. HE SPEAKS OF EAST GERMAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN UN ORGANIZATIONS AS EVIDENCE OF THE GDR'S WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE FURTHERANCE OF PEACE. HONECKER NOTES THAT THE GDR ALSO PARTICIPATES IN THE VIENNA MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AND PRAISES SOVIET INITIATIVES CALLING FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE WORLD DISARMAMENT AND FOR THE CONVOCAION OF A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT. HE ALSO COMES OUT IN FAVOR OF THE CESSAION OF THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OF WEAPONS

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OF MASS DESTRUCTION. WITH REGARD TO HELSINKI, HONECKER PRAISES THE FINAL ACT AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND PREDICTABLY STRESSES THE GDR'S COMMITMENT TO THE CODEX OF PRINCIPLES AND TO BASKET II. HE PROMISES, HOWEVER, THAT THE GDR WOULD CARRY OUT ITS FULL OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE FINAL ACT.

9. SECURITY

HONECKER TREATS SECURITY IN ITS BROAD SENSE TO INCLUDE BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PROTECTION FOR THE GDR. HE CAUTIONS THAT IMPERIALISM IS STILL ACTIVE AND EXPANSIVE AND THAT NEW CRISES COULD CONCEIVABLY APPEAR. HE PRAISES THE WARSAW PACT FOR THE PROTECTION IT AFFORDS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE. WITH REGARD TO EXTERNAL THREATS, HONECKER PAYS HIGH PRAISE TO MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS EAST GERMAN MILITARY AND PARA-MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR PROTECTING THE BORDERS AGAINST AGGRESSION, FOR MAINTAINING INTERNAL VIGILANCE AGAINST SUBVERSIVE ACTS, AND FOR "SMASHING" IMPERIALIST SCHEMES AGAINST THE GDR. HE LISTS THE PROTECTION OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM, THE MAINTENANCE OF THE INVIOABILITY OF STATE FRONTIERS, AND HE READINESS TO MEET AND DEFEAT AGGRESSION

FROM OUTSIDE AS THE MAJOR GOALS OF SECURITY. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE DECRIES THE CONTINUATION OF THE ARMS RASE BY IMPERIALIST FORCES AND CALLS FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF GDR FORCES TO MEET ANY CHALLENGE.

10. COMMENT

THE POLITICAL THEMES CONTAIN NO SURPRISES. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO WESTERN OBSERVERS ARE THE COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH THE FRG. HONECKER HAS PREDICTABLY REMAINED WITHIN THE PARAMETERS OF SOVIET POLICY, AND HAS NOT SET SIGNIFICANT NEW DIRECTION FOR THE GDR.
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